

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 054993

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 54993 ACTION NICOSIA ATHENS ANKARS  
MOSCOW NATO LONDON USEUCOM USDOCOSOUTH MARCH 19TH

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 054993

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON CYPRUS

1. VORONTSOV, SOVIET EMBASSY MINISTER COUNSELOR, CALLED ON ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIES ON MARCH 18 TO DELIVER AN INFORMAL "PAPER" FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE PURPOSE OF THE PAPER, VORONTSOV EXPLAINED, WAS TO DIRECT US ATTENTION TO THE DETERIORATING SITUATION ON CYPRUS WHICH "COULD EASILY GET OUT OF CONTROL UNLESS THE US AND USSR TAKE PREVENTIVE ACTION."

2. MAIN POINTS PAPER LEFT BY VORONTSOV ARE:

A. "PROCEEDING FROM THE EXISTING PRACTICE OF CONFIDENTIAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE US", THE SOVIET UNION WISHES TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN

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CYPRUS.

B. "EXTREMIST CIRCLES OF GREECE" HAVE TAKEN ACTIONS HOSTILE TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS, INTERFERED IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THAT COUNTRY, AND DIRECTED THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES OF ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS (EOKA-B).

C. THERE ARE GROUNDS TO BELIEVE THAT ATHENS AND ANKARA ARE HOLDING SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO IMPOSING

A "SOLUTION" TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AGAINST THE WILL OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF CYPRUS.

D. THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONTACTED THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY, BRINGING TO THEIR ATTENTION THE DANGEROUS SITUATION ON THE ISLAND AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD "DEMONSTRATE A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND...REFRAIN FROM ANY INTERFERENCE INTO THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS."

E. "MOSCOW PROCEEDS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE US COULD EXERT INFLUENCE UPON GREECE AND TURKEY IN ORDER TO PREVENT DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENTS ON CYPRUS WHICH IS LOCATED IN DIRECT PROXIMITY TO THE AREA WHERE THE SITUATION DESPITE JOINT EFFORTS BY OUR STATES, STILL REMAINS EXTREMELY COMPLEX."

3. DAVIES ASSURED VORONTSOV THAT SOVIET VIEWS WOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE SECRETARY'S ATTENTION, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT USG HAS NO SOLID EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE RUMORS NOW CIRCULATING IN CYPRUS. HOWEVER, GIVEN PAST CYPRUS HISTORY, IT IS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN WATCHING-BRIEF ON THE SITUATION. (NOTE: ON WAY OUT VORONTSOV ADMITTED SOVIETS DID NOT HAVE ANY SOLID EVIDENCE EITHER BUT "WE THINK PREVENTIVE ACTION NECESSARY ALL THE SAME".) DAVIES NOTED THAT WE HAD NOT HEARD OF ANY JOINT GOG-GOT ACTION AND THAT WE WOULD GIVE THIS ALLEGATION VERY LOW CREDIBILITY. USG HOLDS VIEW, SHARED BY THE USSR, THAT CYPRUS SHOULD BE SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND SINGLE. AS HISTORICAL RECORD DEMONSTRATES, WHENEVER STABILITY ON CYPRUS AT STAKE, USG HAS INTERVENED AT CONSIDERABLE  
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COST TO ITS RELATIONS WITH ONE OR ANOTHER OF ITS ALLIES. WE ALSO SUPPORT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AND A PEACEFULLY NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

4. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY, VORONTSOV SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH THE GOC. VORONTSOV REPEATED THAT "NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT WITH THE EXTERNAL FORCES AND TO CONSIDER WHAT WE CAN DO EITHER SEPARATELY OR

JOINTLY TO PREVENT DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION."

DAVIES REITERATED THAT THE USG WAS FOLLOWING EVENTS CLOSELY TO DETERMINE IF THERE WERE ANY SUBSTANCE TO THE CHARGES AND SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY FELT THIS WAS THE MOST PRUDENT APPROACH FOR THE TIME BEING. VORONTSOV THEN OBSERVED THAT "WE SHOULD NOT WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE FACT TO TAKE ACTION IN THIS MATTER."

5. NOTING THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S MESSAGE ASSUMES THAT WE CAN INFLUENCE THE GOG AND GOT, DAVIES COMMENTED

THAT THEY WERE SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES AND WHILE THEY ARE OUR ALLIES, THEY NEVERTHELESS PURSUE THEIR OWN NATIONAL POLICIES. VORONTSOV AGAIN REPEATED A REQUEST FOR US ACTION: "WE DID OUR BIT. WE HAVE CONTACTED BOTH PARTIES AND WOULD LIKE YOU TO CONTACT THEM AS WELL AND TO LET THEM KNOW THAT BOTH OF US ARE CONCERNED. THIS IS PURELY A PREVENTIVE MEASURE AND WE ARE ONLY TRYING TO BE HELPFUL." DAVIES REPLIED THAT THE US WATCHED THE SITUATION CLOSELY AND WOULD BE CONCERNED WITH ANY EFFORT FROM OUTSIDE TO DISRUPT THE PRECARIOUS STABILITY ON THE ISLAND.

6. COMMENT: IN RECENT YEARS SOVIET ACTIVITY REGARDING CYPRUS HAS CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THEIR POLICY GOAL OF MAINTAINING AN INDEPENDENT AND BROADLY NON-ALIGNED CYPRUS. IN THIS SENSE VORONTSOV'S DEMARCHE IS AN UNEXCEPTIONAL EXAMPLE OF PREVENTIVE SOVIET DIPLOMACY DESIGNED TO HEAD OFF ANY POSSIBLE GREEK OR GRECO-TURK COUP PLANS.

7. WHAT IS STRIKING IS THE CLEAR SOVIET IDENTIFICATION OF COMMON US AND USSR GOALS IN CYPRUS AND THE LINKAGE OF THIS COMMONALITY TO DETENTE. THE BLAND, CASUAL AND  
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ROUTINE MANNER IN WHICH VORONTSOV ESTABLISHED CYPRUS AS AN AREA OF JOINT US-USSR RESPONSIBILITY FOR STABILITY AND A LOCUS FOR JOINT ACTION WAS ARRESTING. THE SOVIET DEMARCHES IN ATHENS AND ANKARA COINCIDE IN THIS INSTANCE WITH US INTERESTS IN PRESERVING STABILITY ON CYPRUS. HOWEVER, EXTENSIVE SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM HAS GREAT POTENTIAL FOR COMPLICATING MATTERS-- PARTICULARLY IN A POST-MAKARIOS PERIOD. KISSINGER  
UNQUOTE RUSH

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